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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

A/CDC/MR

Department of State

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SUBJ : Guidance for April Sino-US Ambassadorial Meeting

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1. It is the US side's turn to open. Your statement focuses on the question of a higher-level meeting as proposed by the Chinese at our last meeting, and indicates our willingness to accept Lei Yang's offer to receive a US representative in Peking. We will indicate that we are prepared to discuss the modalities of such a meeting, and your statement contains a ~~XXXX~~ six draft agreement on this subject. The ~~XXXX~~ principles which we set forth as a basis for a higher-level meeting are designed to test PRC flexibility on these issues and determine as far as possible the likelihood for success of a higher-level meeting. Text of your opening statement follows:

2. ~~BEGIN QUOTE:~~ Mr. Charge d'Affaires, today marks the third meeting between our two Governments since these ambassadorial-level talks were resumed on January 20. My Government has

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EA/ACA:DMAnderson *ja*

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The Secretary *JKW*

CLEARANCES:

EA - Marshall Green *M*

L - Mr. Aldrich *LA*

EUR - Mr. Swank *M*

ROC - Mr. Shoesmith *M*

WH - Dr. Kissinger

S/S - Mr. Elect

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noted with satisfaction that, during our first two meetings, there have emerged a number of points on which our two sides appear to be in agreement in principle. For example, we have both clearly expressed our mutual desire to improve relations, to reduce tensions and to avoid war. I am convinced that, with these basic mutual goals firmly in mind, it should be possible to make further progress.

3. My Government has particularly noted your Government's willingness to enter into negotiations with the United States to discuss the question of relaxing tensions in the Far East. This, of course, is a matter of great interest to my Government, and I would be most interested in hearing a further elaboration of your views and any specific proposals your Government may wish to set forth on this subject.

Higher Level Meeting

4. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, as you will recall, both of our Governments at our meeting of January 20 discussed the possibility of a higher-level meeting, and I indicated that

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my Government would consider sending a representative to Peking or receiving your representative in Washington should progress in these conversations indicate that such a meeting would be useful. At our meeting on February 20 you indicated your Government's willingness to receive in Peking a representative of ministerial rank or a special envoy of the President for further discussion of issues between our two Governments. My Government joins with yours in believing that a meeting at a higher-level might contribute to an easing of tensions and to laying the groundwork for an improvement in relations between our two countries. I have, therefore, been instructed to ~~additionaux extensionxx to proceed with a high-level meeting in Peking andxx to~~ begin today to discuss the necessary preparations for such a meeting.

5. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, my Government feels that in order to insure the success of a higher-level meeting, we both should have a clear idea of the framework and parameters of ~~X~~^X such a meeting. We feel that there are ~~XXX~~^X basic principles

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which might serve as a basis for substantive progress at a higher-level meeting between representatives of our two Governments. They focus on those areas where we seem, I believe, essentially in agreement rather than on those issues where we are further apart. It is on the former that I believe we should concentrate our attention. I would like now to describe these, ~~approximately~~ and I would welcome your comments on them either today or at our next meeting.

6. First, the question of Taiwan and its relationship with the mainland of China is one to be decided by those parties directly concerned, but the solution of any disputes in this area should be by peaceful means without resort to the threat or use of force. In my Government's view, agreement on this principle would be of great significance to an overall improvement in relations between our two countries. It is our belief that the dangers of armed conflict, the possibility that such conflict might become enlarged, and the interests of the people in the area require that settlement of disputes

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in the area be arrived at by peaceful means.

7. Second, the United States will not interfere with any peaceful settlement which the parties directly involved may reach. It is not the intention of the USG to attempt to determine the relationship between Taiwan and the mainland of China.

~~XXXX~~ Third it

8. ~~XXXX~~ is in the interest of the US and the People's Republic of China to explore ways in which tensions in the entire Far East area ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ can be reduced.

Progress on the first two principles which I have noted would naturally facilitate this.

~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ Fourth

9. ~~XXXXXX~~/the United States and the People's Republic of China should agree to resolve all disputes between them through peaceful negotiations. At our meeting on February 20 you indicated that your Government shared this view, and so it would appear that we should have no difficulty in reaching agreement on this point.

~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ Fifth

10. ~~XXXXXX~~/it is desirable and in the interests of the people

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of both countries to expand mutual contacts and trade. My Government has already taken a number of steps to enable this development to take place.

~~KRKK~~, Sixth,
11. ~~XSGXWXX~~/the foregoing principles are in accord with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the representatives of our two Governments, either here or at a higher-level meeting, should further explore the possibility of issuing a joint declaration affirming our adherence to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

"Two Chinas" Issue

12. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, in your statement of January 20 and again at our meeting last month you stated that my Government is attempting to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" and that the Chinese people could never accept this. I believe that my statements here at this meeting have made it clear that the United States has no intention of attempting to impose any sort of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" solution to this problem. What

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form the resolution of this question will take, I am sure you will agree, is a matter for those parties directly involved to determine. Pending such a settlement, the position of my Government toward the Government ~~is~~ in Taipei remains that which I have stated at our last two meetings. We both understand that the question of Taiwan is a most complicated problem in relations between our two countries. At our meeting on February 20 you indicated that your Government felt that it was necessary to make every effort to create conditions which would enable us to deal with this question. The United States is also prepared to do what it can to facilitate an improvement in relations and to create the conditions for this. For example, as I noted at our February 20 meeting, the US is prepared ~~to~~ gradually/ reduce the limited military presence on Taiwan as tensions in the Far East and the Taiwan area diminish. ~~13~~ I would like to emphasize the seriousness of the United States in these discussions, but I would also like

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to emphasize our firm belief that matters other than Taiwan can and should be discussed here. This is not, as you said at our last meeting, confusing primary and secondary issues. It is consistent with our view that if progress is to be made in improving relations as we hope, we must both be prepared to discuss all of the bilateral questions between our two Governments. As we progress toward a higher-level meeting, my Government would anticipate some positive response from your Government to our views and proposals on such issues as Americans who continue to be under detention in your country, exchanges of journalists, trade, and other bilateral issues.

14. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, as I indicated at our last meeting on February 20, my Government welcomes your statement that you are willing to continue the past practice of permitting Americans imprisoned in China to receive parcels and mail and have visits by members of their family. I understand that the brother of Major Philip Smith has

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already applied for permission to visit him. I hope that early permission will be granted. However, I must again point out that your statement on this subject does not actually carry us beyond the point already reached during the early stages of these meetings, and I would like to urge you again to give serious consideration to the suggestions which I made on this subject at our last meeting. While those actions which I have suggested are humanitarian in nature, frankly speaking they would be viewed by my Government as having political importance as well and would be one way to begin to create the conditions for a general improvement in relations between our two Governments.

Modalities for a Higher-Level Meeting

15. Mr. Charge d'Affaires, there are also certain modalities involved in a higher-level meeting in Peking which I believe we might usefully begin to explore. These include ~~the exact date~~ ~~the exact date~~ ~~the exact date~~ the size of our delegation, the duration of the meeting, and a clear understanding on the status and immunities which the United States delegation would enjoy

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